Cicero Nightmare—*Homer A. Jack*

THE Nation

July 28, 1951

Gamble in the East

A Defense Pact for the Pacific

BY W. MACMAHON BALL

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Priests vs. Parishioners

Minnesota's School Fight

BY DICK BRUNER

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Franco at the Front Door

BY ALEXANDER H. UHL

JUL 31 1951

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Important features

When Japan Has a Treaty

Fifty-three countries were at war with Japan, and most of them are expected to send delegates to the San Francisco conference, scheduled for the first week in September, where a peace treaty will probably be signed. *Owen Lattimore,* director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University, will discuss the provisions of the treaty and its probable effects on Japan. A later issue will carry an article on the treaty by a leading Japanese economist. His will be perhaps the one straightforward analysis of the treaty by a Japanese that will appear in the American press before the conference assembles in San Francisco. These articles, with W. Macmahon Ball's examination of the proposed Pacific alliance in the current issue, will provide an excellent background for an understanding of the far-reaching implications of the Japanese treaty.

Portrait of a Boss

A political boss with a well-known name about whom little is known personally is the subject of *James Munves'* article The Man in the Corner of the Picture. J. Russel Sprague has been Republican leader of Nassau County, New York, since 1936, and his influence in the G. O. P. today extends far beyond his Long Island stronghold. Sprague is a skilled and seasoned "operator" who directs high-level political dramas from behind the scenes. His unobtrusive rise to power as a boss and the mechanism of his smoothly geared Nassau County machine are engagingly described by Mr. Munve.

Cloud over Germany

Is the rebirth of fascism in Germany merely the "bad dream" that so many American observers insist, or is there reason to believe that Nazism is again on the march? In three articles from West Germany—The Revival of Nazism, Do the Germans Want to Rearm? and Boom in the Ruhr—*Mark Gayn* gives a vivid and highly pertinent account of the social chaos in Germany today. Mr. Gayn was chief of the Chicago *Sun* bureau in Tokyo from 1945 to 1947, and is the author of the widely read "Japan Diary." He has spent the last four years in Europe.

Heretic Hunting Among the Sooners

To tell the story of the Oklahoma loyalty oath—a wild and woolly ideological concoction—*The Nation* has turned to two students, *Jean Lomenick* and *Bruce Johnson,* editor and former editor of the *Daily O'Collegian* of Oklahoma A. and M. Their article not only deals with a crucial educational issue but contains some rare and wonderful Oklahomana.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

AN IMPORTANT CHURCH AND STATE ISSUE has been raised in Washington, D. C. Pending federal legislation will give $2,800,000 to four District of Columbia hospitals which are under religious auspices. The legality and propriety of using public money for this purpose are defended in these terms: (1) the funds will be fairly distributed among hospitals run by four different denominations; (2) the charter of Providence Hospital, the Catholic institution central in the controversy, says nothing about religious activities, and the institution is abiding by its charter; (3) Providence is staffed by doctors and nurses of all creeds and is open to patients of all creeds or none. These facts, which appear to be uncontested, are held sufficient to save the legislation from the prohibition of the First Amendment against the establishment of a religion. The legal defense of the pending bill, H. R. 2094, is based upon an 1899 decision by the Supreme Court in *Bradfield* v. *Roberts*, which held, in effect, that the operation of Providence Hospital was charitable rather than a religious undertaking so long as the hospital cared for the sick and invalid of all creeds alike. Recent decisions, such as those in the Everson and McCollum cases, increase our understanding of the relationship of church and state, but *Bradfield* v. *Roberts* appears to remain prevailing doctrine. The opposing legal argument contends that the operation of a hospital by a religious organization is part and parcel of its ministry and inseparable from motives of propagation of faith. This is excellent logic; however it must be admitted that a different line of reasoning has held the field for fifty years.

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THE WISDOM OF USING TAX MONEY IN AID of sectarian institutions is another matter, and as national policy is open to serious doubt. This country is under massive and constant pressure to give to Catholic social institutions—and some Protestants are willing to go along for the ride—ever-increasing support from the public treasury. The fact that Providence Hospital is a first-class agency for public service and the fact that other denominational hospitals will also benefit throw only a stronger light on the principle involved. And if Congress chooses to breach the wall of separation at the level of law-making judgment, we cannot be sure that the Supreme Court will, in the face of the Smith act decision, stand immovable in defense of the Bill of Rights. In 1951 Congress might find guidance in the wisdom shown by an earlier Congress when it wrote the 1897 District of Columbia appropriation bill:

> And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of the United States to make no appropriation of money or property for the purpose of founding, maintaining, or aiding by payment for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church or religious denomination, or any institution or society which is under sectarian or ecclesiastical control; and it is hereby enacted that, from and after the thirtieth day of June, 1897, no money appropriated for charitable purposes in the District of Columbia shall be paid to any church or religious denomination, or to any institution or society which is under sectarian or ecclesiastical control.

✶

UNDER THE HEADING "A JOB UNEXPECTED" *Variety* of Hollywood recently announced that William Mooring, film critic for *Tidings*, the local archdiocesan paper, had been instructed to present Columbia Pictures with an award from the British magazine *Picturegoer* for the film "Born Yesterday." With kittenish glee *Variety* noted that Mooring, who had reviewed the film for the British magazine "without raising any political objections," had conducted a vehement campaign against it in *Tidings*. Piqued at the imputation of "double standards" in reviewing, Mooring replied that "Born Yesterday" had not received *Picturegoer's* highest award of merit, as *Variety* had reported, but was merely a monthly film selection. Rated "objectionable in parts" by the Legion of Decency, the picture had been denounced by Mooring as "Communist propaganda" both in his *Tidings* review and at various meetings. The characters, he said, were actually caricatures of the Capitalist, the Dumb Cluck exploited by the Capitalist, and the Erudite Informer—all stereotypes of the Communist line. In his review for *Picturegoer*, Mr. Mooring predicted that Judy Holliday would win the Academy Award. He added, however, that his vote would go to Gloria Swanson for her portrayal of an aging actress in "Sunset Boulevard." Apparently Mr. Mooring, who was not born yesterday, prefers dissolute movie queens to exploited dumb clucks, which in itself is a double standard of some sort.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO REGENTS have now dismissed a teacher on the ground that he "lied concerning the date of his claimed termination" of membership in the Communist Party. Dr. Irving Goodman, assistant professor of chemistry, has been a member of the faculty since 1939. At present on leave, he protested the discharge from Europe but was unable to appear before the Regents. The decision to discharge Dr. Goodman appears to have been based solely on confidential reports submitted by two former FBI agents who were retained by the Regents last February to investigate the faculty's loyalty. According to President Robert L. Stearns, Dr. Goodman had given assurances in 1947, when his contract was renewed, that he had dropped out of the Communist Party in 1945. The report of the investigators apparently indicates that this statement is not true, although no claim is made that Goodman is now a member of the party.

*

COMING ON THE HEELS OF THE REGENTS' courageous decision not to fire another former Communist, Dr. David Hawkins, this new action is somewhat confusing. The decision of the Regents in the Hawkins case indicated that the misgivings expressed in the article The Case of David Hawkins, in our issue of March 10, were not entirely warranted. But letters now reaching *The Nation* from members of the faculty more than justify our initial concern. The report of the former FBI agents is said to cast doubt on the loyalty of six or more faculty members, and President Stearns has said that "less than 1 per cent" of the faculty will be under continued investigation. Whether the number is six or sixty, there can be no justification for the use of former FBI agents to pass on the loyalty of faculty members. The longer these agents are permitted to snoop around Boulder, turning in confidential reports to the President, the more the atmosphere will be poisoned by distrust and a sense of insecurity.

*

DOES AN ASSUMPTION OF DANGER BASED upon the likelihood of "mass hysteria" warrant a suspension or curtailment of liberties otherwise protected by the First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution? This is the issue that the Supreme Court will have to decide if it consents to review the case of Professor George B. Thorp, who was dismissed from the faculty of the Newark College of Engineering in February, 1950, for his refusal to sign the New Jersey teachers' oath. The oath requires the usual renunciation of the use of force or violence to overthrow the government and, for good measure, requires each new teacher and college professor to swear that he or she does not "believe in" any change in the government by "unlawful means." Unable to cite any factual evidence of a "clear and present danger" that would warrant the oath, the

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New Jersey Supreme Court sought refuge in the notion that the legislation might have been concerned about improper instruction in the schools. But as Thorp's counsel points out, the legislature made no findings of this character, and the record of the case is barren of any suggestion to this effect. Thus the case would seem to turn on the question of whether the courts are willing to take judicial notice of "mass hysteria" as evidence of the existence of a clear and present danger.

McCarthyism at the U. N.?

THE meeting of the Administrative Tribunal, the top judicial authority of the United Nations, to hear the case of the six employees appealing the decisions to terminate their employment, discloses a dangerously unhealthy conflict between staff members and top administrative officials in an organization that should be a model of democratic employment practices. The Staff Association, an elected body representing the employees, claims that employees are being intimidated in an effort to convert the association into a "company union" and to enforce conformity of thinking among staff members. Further, it contends that the administration is using the threat of discharge, refusal to promote members active in the Staff Association, and withholding permanent contracts as part of this campaign of intimidation. Of the six employees discharged, three are officers of the association—the presiding officer, the secretary, and the assistant secretary—whose tenure of employment ranges from two to five years and whose efficiency records are beyond dispute.

Administration spokesmen dismiss these allegations by charging that the officers of the staff council are disloyal and self-seeking. But the following facts will not be denied: (1) that 70 per cent of the employees of the United Nations, six years after its founding, still lack permanent contracts, although it was originally intended that all employees should be given permanent contracts after short probationary periods; (2) that the Secretary General claims unrestricted power to terminate the employment of those who lack permanent contracts; (3) that the Secretary General claims the right to withhold his reasons for their dismissal from staff members whose employment has been terminated; (4) that the six employees, in their first appeal, were denied the right to counsel of their own choice; (5) that although the six employees technically had the right to have a representative of the secretariat appear in their behalf, in their first appeal before the Joint Appeals Board no member of the secretariat with legal qualifications would serve for fear of reprisal (in an earlier case a member of the secretariat who had successfully defended certain members was denied further employment with the U. N. although he had been employed since 1947 and had received the normal promotions and commendations); (6) that to represent the staff interests the association has now been compelled to secure outside counsel.

Further evidence in support of the contentions of the Staff Association is to be found in the open warnings issued to members of the staff by their superiors that activities in the staff council might endanger their promotions and even their employment. Whether true or not, many employees believe that telephones in the U. N. have been wired to record conversations. And few members of the staff today care to run the risk of being seen talking to a newspaper correspondent.

It is hard to believe that Trygve Lie, himself a former trade-union official, can be aware of how far employment practices have deteriorated in recent months. The facts here recited are alone sufficiently startling to call for a thorough investigation of employment policies and practices. The leadership of the U. N. should be of one mind in insisting that the secretariat should conform to the best democratic practices in all relations with staff members and employees. The Administrative Tribunal should check the evident intrusion of McCarthyism at the U. N. and vindicate the democratic rights of the employees whose appeals it will hear.

Spain: Bases for Dollars

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE comedy of the democratization of the Spanish regime is worthy of the great American movie tradition—a beautiful comedy with a happy ending. Everyone should read the news from Madrid with a sensation of joy. By a stroke of genius Admiral Sherman has presented his country with a brave new ally, Francisco Franco, together with the Generalissimo's splendid naval and air bases, his army, and his fine record that provides such invaluable support for the Voice of America when it calls to the people behind the Iron Curtain: "Here we are, the whole united democratic coalition."

Happy, too, the Spanish people, whose dictator, thanks to the magic effect of American dollars, suddenly becomes the paternal head of a government newly staffed with fine, democratic Monarchists and clericals.

Such, more or less, is the picture offered to Americans by the Administration's willing helpers, the big press and radio. Fortunately for historical truth the distortion is not unanimous. The day after the new government was announced Sam Pope Brewer reported in the New York *Times*: "The Cabinet as revamped does not imply any change in basic policies." To reach that conclusion it is necessary only to consider the man Franco has chosen as his new Minister of War, General Augusto Muñoz Grande. No doubt the files of the New York *Times* contain a picture of the General being

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decorated by Hitler with the Iron Cross with palms for his service to the Nazi regime as commander of the Blue Division which fought against the Allies on the Russian front. This intervention was one of the outstanding facts taken into consideration by the United Nations when Franco was ruled out of the community of nations. Now the general in charge is at the head of the army in Franco's democratic Cabinet.

Competing in liberalism with General Muñoz Grande is the new Minister of Information, Gabriel Arias Salgado, who during World War II directed the entire propaganda of the Falangist State and from whom we could quote full pages of tirades in honor of Hitler and against the Allies, including the United States.

In the two other key posts there are Blas Pérez, as Minister of the Interior, who in recent years has been in charge of the repression and terror exercised against Spanish dissidents of all degrees, leftists and liberals, Free Masons and Protestants, even Monarchists; and in the Labor Department, José Antonio Girón, the man against whom Spanish labor has rebelled in the memorable strikes of recent months.

A few insignificant Monarchists like Count Vallellano, who certainly does not represent the Pretender Don Juan, and Ruiz Jimenez as representative of the church have been added to give a semblance of sincerity to Franco's announcement that he intends to restore the monarchy. But he has said this many times in the last three years, and the real Monarchists are the first to recognize that he has not the least intention of stepping down voluntarily from his seat of power.

Something very important has nevertheless taken place in Spain. The process of disintegration of the Franco regime is spreading. The loose thread in the worn suit has been pulled, and the whole thing is going to pieces. That is the great lesson to be drawn from today's events in Madrid.

Franco has carried out the farce of "liberalizing" the regime to facilitate the exchange of bases for dollars, allowing American propaganda to say to the British and French that it is with a different Spanish government the West will henceforth have to deal. But he would not need to make these embarrassing gestures were it not for his own growing insecurity and the increasing pressure from within the country. Today, for the first time since he seized power, Franco faces open, spreading rebellion. To counter it he needs American money and guns. He also needs to make a pretense of broadening the base of the government, throwing a political crumb or two to the conservative elements in the opposition.

At such a moment, when the Spanish people saw a real chance, the first good chance since 1945, to get rid of their fascist oppressor, America has come to the rescue of Franco. It is a performance that forbids this country to pretend that the cold war is being waged for democracy and freedom. But even if it postpones the day of Spain's liberation, the American pact with Franco will not, in the end, save the regime. Nor will the United States gain the advantages it seeks. For this country has not, in spite of its desire, bought an ally. Those courageous Spaniards who last Thursday went to the American embassy in Madrid to protest against the Sherman deal expressed the feeling of 90 per cent of the people: "The United States will buy a dictator but they will not be buying a people in any of its aspects. The majority will rule." The foreign policy of the big powers in the post-war period is not lacking in blunders. One of the greatest is the American notion that Spain can be induced to fight under Franco.

Cicero Nightmare

BY HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, July 18

FOR the first time in more than three decades the National Guard has been used to quell a race riot in the Chicago area. The Cicero outbreak was not like other race riots; 10,000 suburbanites went beserk, but not a single Negro was within miles of the scene.

Once the base of Al Capone's operations, Cicero with a population of 70,000 is today a city of many small homes, owned largely by second-generation Americans of Czechoslovak, Polish, Italian, and Dutch ancestry. Thousands of Negroes work in the great factories of the area, making Western Electric telephones, Hot Point stoves, Thor washing machines, and so on, but none of them live in Cicero. For years "the race issue" has been a convenient gimmick for Cicero politicians. The present political machine defeated an attempt to overturn it in 1948 by distributing a fake notice the night before the election which read: "The town board of Cicero has denied us the American right to live in Cicero for more than eighty years. Vote for the City Government [the reform group] next Tuesday, so that we colored people may enjoy the privilege of living in the town of Cicero."

Early in June, Harvey E. Clark, Jr., a twenty-nine-year-old Chicago bus driver recently graduated from Fisk University, rented an apartment in a twenty-unit building in northwest Cicero. Clark did not expect any more violence than Negroes usually encounter in "new" areas, but when he arrived at the apartment he was greeted by policemen, who prevented him from moving in. An hour or so later Cicero's Chief of Police appeared. Shoving Clark and the rental agent into a car, he is said

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DR. JACK is minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston and former secretary of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination. He was an eyewitness of the Cicero riots.

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to have threatened them, "Get out of Cicero and don't come back."

For this clear violation of the federal civil-rights statutes, the Chicago National Association for the Advancement of Colored People promptly filed suit in behalf of Clark against the city of Cicero, demanding $200,000 damages. On June 26 Federal Judge John P. Barnes issued a preliminary injunction restraining the city's officials from interfering with Clark's plans to occupy the apartment he had rented. Judge Barnes warned the Chief of Police: "If you don't obey the order, you're going to be in serious trouble. You are going to exercise the same diligence in seeing that these people move in as you did in trying to keep them out."

On Tuesday, July 10, the Clarks, protected by a small police detail, moved their furniture into the apartment. While they were away from the apartment in the afternoon, a crowd of some 500 persons gathered in front of the building unmolested by the police. Vandals then broke every window in Clark's third-floor apartment while the crowd cheered. The police did nothing.

On the following day nine white families, tenants in the building, moved out. That evening at least 2,000 people gathered around the premises, benignly watched by details of Cicero and Cook County police. Hoodlums again went into action. Breaking into Clark's apartment, they tossed the furniture and the family's possessions, including Clark's honorable discharge from the air force, out of the third-story window. One of the vandals swaggered out of the building with the Clarks' marriage certificate. The police looked on as the crowd burned the furniture but again made no arrests.

On Thursday afternoon the remaining ten white families moved out of the apartment building, and Governor Adlai Stevenson, at the request of Sheriff John Babb, ordered five companies of the Illinois National Guard into Cicero. Several hundred soldiers had arrived by 7 p. m., but owing to a misunderstanding did not reach the scene of the rioting until 10 p. m. They then waited an hour or so longer before making an attempt to disperse the angry crowd of more than 5,000 people. During that time a gang of fifty or so young toughs, in full view of Cicero and Cook County police and only a few yards from soldiers standing shoulder to shoulder with drawn bayonets, threw bricks and stones over the heads of the crowd, the soldiers, and the police at the apartment building. One member of the gang used the spotlight of a police squad car to light up their targets. Every time crashing glass marked a successful hit a roar of approval went up from the crowd. During the lulls one could hear kids breaking bricks on the sidewalk so they could have three "heaves" instead of one.

Mingling in the crowd was Joseph Beauharnais, head of the White Circle League. Telling everybody who would listen that the community must be kept "white," he passed out cards which described the White Circle League as "dedicated to safeguarding and maintaining the Dignity, Social Edicts, Customs, Heritage, and Rights of the White Race in America." One of its aims, the cards said, was "to preserve white neighborhoods for white people and to bring about complete separation of the black and white races."

At 11:30 p. m. the soldiers slowly pushed the crowd back, out of stone's-throw distance. Then another section of the crowd surged forward to within fifty feet of the building and threw "Molotov cocktails" and other incendiary flares into the upper-story windows. Several times the building caught fire, but firemen extinguished the flames. By 12:30 an uneasy "cease-fire" had been obtained, the crowd having been pushed back two blocks or more. Four police cars had been overturned, and nineteen persons had been injured. Seventy persons were arrested, ten charged with assault to kill. Of those arrested, more than half were under twenty-five years of age and about half came from Cicero and neighboring suburbs.

On Friday evening, July 13, the 500 soldiers and 120 Cicero and Cook County police for the first time demonstrated professional policing techniques. Barbed wire was erected for a block each way around the apartment; an area thirty blocks square was declared under martial law, and people who did not keep moving were arrested for unlawful assembly. Although no great crowds gathered that evening, forty-seven persons were arrested. Today Cicero is quiet, but there is talk that "the building will be razed forty-eight hours after the troops are withdrawn."

Various citizen groups are demanding federal and Cook County grand-jury investigations. The Chicago N. A. A. C. P. has sent a representative to Washington to demand federal prosecutions, and large damage suits will be pressed against the city of Cicero. In Chicago the Church Federation issued a statement praising the restraint of 500,000 Negroes in the area. "As leaders of the churches of Cook County," it said, "we hang our heads in shame." The leaders of the estimated 10,000 Protestant and 30,000 Roman Catholic church members in Cicero remained silent for the most part. One churchman privately admitted that the god worshiped in Cicero is the unencumbered deed and that the town's real churches are its savings-and-loan associations.

The Chicago N. A. A. C. P. is raising $6,000 to compensate the Clarks for the loss of their furniture and personal effects, accumulated through many years. Clark intends to return to Cicero; public opinion in Chicago holds that anything less would be a complete victory for lawless racism. But it is anybody's guess how soon Clark or any other Negro will find it safe to live in Cicero. The war there might last longer than the war in Korea.

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A Defense Pact for the Pacific

BY W. MACMAHON BALL

Melbourne

THE idea of a Pacific alliance has been more popular in the countries of the western Pacific than in the United States. But last April, in response to the persistent pleas of the Australian government, President Truman announced that Washington was working toward a defense pact with Australia and New Zealand. It has been suggested that this is the first step in an attempt to build a wider alliance of "free nations" in the Pacific.

The idea has manifest attractions, particularly for those nations which, like Australia, have lately come to depend so much on American friendship. There is no doubt about Australia's desire to maintain and strengthen its friendship with the United States, but friendship is not always fostered by an effort to translate it into specific mutual commitments. The time seems opportune to look carefully at the likely consequences of new pacts in the Pacific.

The practical value of a pact will usually depend on how far it has been designed to meet a specific threat. Hence, before nations can agree on what to put into the pact, they must agree on the probable nature of the danger. In the United States most people seem to believe that the Soviet Union and communism are the only sources of danger in the Pacific. But in Australia many people feel that a rearmed Japan is more to be feared.

It seems clear to Australians that the pressures that pushed Japan's rulers to aggression in the past are even more powerful today. In the 1930's Japan felt the need of more living room than was available in its own islands for the million yearly increase in its population. In 1936 the population of Japan proper was only about 70,000,000; today it is more than 84,000,000, and the rate of increase is greater, too. Even if the birth rate should be rapidly reduced, Japan would have to find work for more than 8,000,000 additional male workers —boys already born—in the next twenty years. In the 1930's Japan's leaders felt it necessary to win military control of neighboring territories in order to obtain the basic raw materials, the markets, and the food supplies on which its economic life depended. Its need for overseas markets and sources of supply is much more acute today. And despite the fate of Tojo and a handful of his colleagues who were unlucky enough to be hanged before they were depurged, the men who rule Japan today have fundamentally the same outlook and the same interests as those who planned the attacks on Manchuria, China, and Pearl Harbor.

Owing to the poverty of its material resources, Japan can protect its vital interests only by allying itself with one of the two great power blocs. It may be argued that its fear of Russia and communism and its respect for American power assures its reliability as an ally of the West. For my part, I think this is highly doubtful. The Japanese are acutely nervous about the risks of alliance with the United States, though they are cautious about showing their feelings. They know how exposed their cities are to bombing from the mainland, and their sea lanes to Soviet submarines. Like the Germans, they fear that in a general war their role might be to fight a delaying action in behalf of the Western democracies. They do not want to be expendable. Despite Western military intervention in Korea, the Japanese know that the United States had decided to give priority to Western Europe. Though American power is immense, it is not unlimited, and many Japanese doubt that the United States would be able to put up effective initial resistance in both East and West. In addition, Japan, as an American ally, must surrender the raw materials and markets of the mainland, though it cannot withdraw from the military menace. Economically, Japan is part of East Asia. The United States may be prepared, for military reasons, to continue to sustain the Japanese economy by adventitious aids, but these can never provide the conditions of stability and growth.

No doubt Soviet Russia and China also court Japan as an ally, and they might be able to make it a tempting offer. They might offer food and raw materials and markets on the mainland. They might offer a free hand in the South Seas. In the past, ideological differences have never prevented the Soviet Union from making working agreements with other nations. It seems reasonable to suppose that Moscow would be even more anxious to win a rearmed than a disarmed Japan as an ally. Hence, it may be that in rearming Japan we are at once improving its bargaining position if it wants to play us off against Russia and weakening our power to reassert control if it should try to double-cross us. In a word, I doubt that the United States has enough continuing inducements to offer, or enough power at its disposal, to insure that a rearmed Japan will remain a reliable ally.

It is in the shadow of these thoughts that the proposed defense pact for the United States, Australia, and New

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W. MACMAHON BALL, a professor at the University of Melbourne, served as the British Commonwealth member of the Allied Council for Japan. He is the author of "Japan: Enemy or Ally?"

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Zealand must be considered. In fact if not in form the pact is tied up with a peace treaty that will rearm Japan. The question for Australia is whether the safeguards in the pact will balance the dangers in the treaty.

IN MY opinion it is unlikely that they will do so. If Australia were in grave danger I believe that the United States, as in 1942, would give all the aid in its power, with or without a pact. But Australia would only be in danger in a general war, and in such a war the forces that the United States could spare for the southwestern Pacific would depend on the demands of its global strategy. Australia had considerable strategic importance in the last war because the Japanese-mandated islands barred the direct east-west approach to Japan. Now that these islands are controlled by America and that the northern Pacific air routes have been developed, Australia has much less strategic importance.

It may be urged that danger from Japan is, at worst, still hypothetical, while danger from the Soviet Union is actual, and that defense pacts with the United States will strengthen all nations in the Pacific that are resolved to resist Soviet aggression. But even this proposition must be viewed with caution. It is easy to assume that if an Atlantic Pact is good for the West, a Pacific Pact will be good for the East. The analogy is dangerous. It is one thing to use military force to protect a particular country against external attack and another thing to use military force to protect a particular regime against domestic revolution. In East Asia it is hardly possible to do the one without doing the other. Moreover, it is hardly possible for the West to use force anywhere in East Asia without becoming involved with another powerful revolutionary movement, the revolt of the East against domination by the West.

In practice, wherever the United States has found it necessary to carry on military activities in East Asia, either to maintain its own bases, as in Japan and the Philippines, or to give aid to an anti-Communist regime, as in China, Korea, and Indo-China, it has felt compelled to ally itself with conservative groups whose primary political interest is to resist radical social change. Hence a Pacific alliance under American leadership would presumably require all who entered it to give military support to reactionary regimes.

The official American view, as I understand it, might be summarized as follows: We have the deepest sympathy with East Asian movements for national independence. We have repeatedly given practical expression to this sympathy. We took the lead to abrogate the unequal treaties with China; we used our good offices to help India and Indonesia to win political freedom; we honored our undertaking to give independence to the Philippines in 1946. We are also in sympathy with social-reform movements. We tried our hardest to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to introduce reforms before it was too late; we have introduced land reform in Japan and in South Korea. We are continuing to press the government of the Philippines to face up to its social responsibilities. But if a nationalist movement comes under Communist leadership, we must fight it—for two reasons. We must fight it to prevent the extension of Soviet power which any increase in Communist influence certainly implies. And we must fight it in the interests of the local population, to save them from tyranny. Nationalism is a spontaneous movement for independence; communism is an imposed movement which is prepared to subordinate national independence to the needs of the Soviet Union.

I DOUBT that this description of the political forces in East Asia takes enough account of their complexity. I doubt that it is possible to distil "pure" nationalism from the present revolutionary ferment; that it is sound sense to cheer the passage of the first wave, the demand for political independence, and to try to build a wall against the second, the demand for social change, for both are part of the same tidal movement. I think we must recognize that in many countries in East Asia the choice is not between democracy and dictatorship but only between a left and a right dictatorship. Indeed, I think we must go farther and recognize that in at least some countries a left dictatorship has today much the better prospect of winning popular support. I believe that this is true in China, Indo-China, and Korea.

If this view is accepted—and I know that many will reject it with disdain—will the West still use military force to prevent the success of Communist-led movements, such as the Vietminh? To do so would be to assume an immense military and moral responsibility. In June of last year I believed it was right for the United Nations to resist the attack by North Korea, for at the time it seemed that the clear act of territorial aggression outweighed the other political factors involved. Later experience in Korea has shown not only the military difficulties that face expeditionary forces in East Asia but how easy it is, once fighting begins, for the initial cause of conflict to become compromised and distorted. It is difficult to fight against communism in some parts of East Asia without fighting against social change, and difficult to fight against social change without fighting against history.

If we are anxious to avoid military operations in East Asia, does that mean that we abdicate to the Soviet Union? I think not. It is true that Communist leaders like Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh are at present loudly protesting their solidarity with the Kremlin. Yet it is surely too soon to conclude that they desire to become an integral part of the Soviet bloc. The alignment may express a temporary coincidence of national interests, not a permanent ideological unity. It is not surpris-

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ing that Mao and Ho should welcome support from any quarter. It would, I think, be surprising if they were prepared to pay for Soviet sympathy and support by subordinating the independence of China and Indo-China to the strategic interests of Russia. How long they will collaborate with the Kremlin is likely to depend in large measure on Western policy toward their regimes.

It is nearly certain that neither India, Pakistan, Burma, nor Indonesia would be a party to any Pacific pact which might commit them to joint military action with Western powers to sustain unpopular anti-Communist governments. For the West to pursue policies that might widen the gulf still separating the West from the great nations of East Asia would have unfortunate consequences, especially for Australia, an island lying off the coast of Southeast Asia. But I feel there are wider considerations which make a Pacific alliance inopportune. It is psychologically a bad moment to put the accent on military means of achieving security in the Pacific. Such emphasis tends to make us think of East Asia as a territory in which it may be necessary for Western soldiers to fight instead of as the home of new nations with whom it is certainly necessary for us to learn to live. It tends to obscure the fundamental truth that in the long run military security for the West can only be built on social security for the East.

Priests vs. Parishioners

BY DICK BRUNER

Mankato, Minnesota

THERE is tumult in the village of Pierz. Henry Gau, a lifelong resident, was excommunicated from the Roman Catholic church on May 6. Coming as the climax to a struggle for a public high school for the area, this first public excommunication in the history of Minnesota has raised an issue of paramount importance to the future of American democracy. Stated briefly, the issue is: who is to control education in a predominantly Catholic community, the priests or the parishioners? Or, put another way, can the hierarchy tell the people what kind of schools they shall have?

Some background is necessary to an understanding of how the issue arose. Pierz, a village of 851 people seventy-five miles northwest of Minneapolis, is the trading center for a dairy-farming district in which most of the farms are "marginal," the land having little value except as pasture. Some 95 per cent of its residents belong to the Roman Catholic church. The nearest public high school is in Little Falls, twelve miles distant. High-school students from Pierz have commuted to this school for years, often spending two or more hours a day getting to and from school by bus. In December, 1949, the voters of twenty-eight rural school districts approved a plan for consolidating them, with Pierz as the logical center. This consolidated district covers 200 square miles and is one of the largest in the state. The major purpose in forming it was of course to bring into being a high school. In the following January the new district elected a school board of six members, who then chose a superintendent. The next order of business was the approval of a bond issue, and it was at this point that the trouble began.

Before the consolidation some of the rural districts had operated schools and some had sent pupils to schools in neighboring districts or to the parochial schools in the area. One of the two parochial schools is operated by St. Joseph's Parish, in Pierz, of which Monsignor Edward M. Mahowald is pastor. Since the early 1930's the parish has had a unique arrangement with the state and the local school district. It has rented to the local school district one or two classrooms in the parochial school, in which non-Catholic students have been taught by two Catholic lay teachers. Classes in the other rooms of the parochial school are taught by nuns. Not long after the parish in Pierz adopted this arrangement, St. Michael's Parish in Buckman, six miles south of Pierz, also began to rent a room to the local school district.

The new school board and superintendent favored the construction of a public high school, but Monsignor Mahowald insisted on a "dual" set-up under which academic instruction would be handled by the parish and vocational instruction by the school district. The parish would build the "academic" high school, the school district the "vocational," but the two structures would be adjoining and students could attend both. And both schools would receive state and district aid. This plan was clearly illegal—as an assistant attorney general has ruled in an informal opinion—since the Minnesota constitution provides that no tax money shall be used for a school teaching the "doctrines, creeds, or tenets" of any religious sect.

The superintendent and three board members therefore opposed the dual system as not only impractical but illegal. It should be noted at this point that the superintendent and all six members of the board were Catholics and were not in any manner opposed to the

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Catholic scheme of education. On the other hand, the church authorities were not at all disinclined to receive state aid. In fact, the pastor of St. John of Nepomuk's Parish in Lastrup, just north of Pierz, announced that his parish intended to rent two rooms to the school district in order to qualify for state aid. Before long the virtually all-Catholic community of Pierz was divided into two warring factions—those favoring a public high school and those favoring the dual system, which was characterized by its opponents as "a farce to collect state aid."

The proposed $575,000 bond issue for the public high school was to be voted on March 9, 1951. No sooner was the election announced than the Catholic clergy launched an active campaign to defeat the bond issue. Priests spoke against it at every meeting called by the school board to explain its purpose. Catholics who favored the public high school were accused of being "anti-Catholic" and opposed to Catholic education. The Pierz *Journal,* whose editor is a devout Catholic, came out in favor of the public high school and was promptly labeled a "Communist" sheet. The former editor of the diocesan newspaper, recruited by Monsignor Mahowald to support his cause, bombarded the *Journal* with letters demanding that the schools should be "liberated from the inadequacy and blinding hindrances of the neutrality now impeding true education." The school board, in an effort to win over Monsignor Mahowald, offered to allow priests to teach religion in the proposed public high school, but the suggestion was not acceptable. As one priest put it, "This is not enough. Every idea and every subject has to be presented from a Christian point of view."

The result of the election, in the whole district, was 575 votes for, 887 against the bond issue. In the village of Pierz, however, the vote was 254 to 142 in favor of the issue and a public high school.

THE hierarchy had won through clever strategy. To get the votes of the inhabitants of the outlying districts the priests promised that if the bond issue were defeated, the entire cost of the "academic" or parochial high school would be borne by the parish of Pierz, St. Joseph's. Monsignor Mahowald announced also that the parish had between $80,000 and $100,000 in its treasury which might be applied toward the cost of the school. Since there are 400 families in the Pierz parish and 550 families outside, Monsignor Mahowald was apparently planning to have the cost of the parochial high school borne by less than half the families which would benefit by it. He told the Associated Press that the estimated cost of the academic part of the dual system would be $225,000 and that of the vocational structure $350,000. It is clear, therefore, that he was determined to keep the district from building a public high school regardless of how the cost was shared.

On March 30, after the defeat of the bond issue, Monsignor Mahowald announced from the pulpit that the parish would proceed to build a new parochial high school. Thereupon forty-nine men from the parish of Pierz went to St. Cloud to discuss the school problem with Bishop Peter W. Bartholome. The Bishop refused to see them but offered to discuss the matter with three members of the delegation if he might name the three. Not liking this proposal, the delegation returned to Pierz, organized the Independent School Committee, and elected as its chairman Henry Gau, a sixty-three-year-old insurance salesman.

At one of the first meetings of the committee Gau proposed that a "straw vote" should be taken on whether St. Joseph's Parish should build and pay for the parochial high school. Several members of the committee thought that the straw vote should not be limited to parishioners, but Gau insisted that since they were to pay the bill they should make the decision. Notices were placed in the paper that the straw vote would be taken on April 27. Monsignor Mahowald then went to see Gau and asked him to call off the straw vote. Gau refused, but nothing was said about the possibility of excommunication. On the Sunday before the vote was to be taken an announcement was made at mass that the plan had been canceled, and later Monsignor Mahowald told his parishioners to have no part in it. The straw vote, however, was taken, and 339 parishioners voted against building and paying for the parochial high school to 20 who voted for it.

On Sunday, May 6, one of Gau's friends, returning from seven o'clock mass, informed him that the priest had read a letter from the bishop announcing Gau's excommunication. This was the only notice of his punishment Gau received. He attended mass later that morning but heard nothing about the excommunication or the letter. Newspapermen were told that Gau had not been excommunicated because he opposed the position of the priests but because he had usurped "the authority of the bishop in calling the election on his own initiative." Recently Gau was informed that the excommunication would be lifted if he would apologize. "I'm not going to apologize," he said to a reporter; "I didn't do anything wrong. I was opposed to our collecting money illegally and then trying to teach our children to be honest Catholics."

IF THE excommunication was intended to intimidate the parishioners of Pierz, it failed in its purpose. Several of Gau's friends withdrew their names from the parish roster and are now attending other churches, and the villagers have again asserted their preference for a public high school. On June 26 school-board elections

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were held throughout Minnesota, and the three board members in Pierz who favored the public high school were up for reelection. The priests made every effort to defeat them. In rural districts outside Pierz the promise used earlier to defeat the bond issue was repeated—that the entire cost of the parochial, or academic, school would be borne by St. Joseph's Parish. In Pierz it was claimed that a parochial high school could be operated much cheaper than a public school because nuns were used as teachers. The argument, of course, overlooks the fact that a "dual" school means a "dual" tax burden: besides supporting the parochial school, residents of the district are taxed to pay state aid and also the tuition and transportation of every student who wants to attend an accredited high school.

Sermons were preached on the necessity of defeating the three pro-public-high-school candidates; in Buckman a list of candidates favoring the dual system was placed on a sign in front of the parish church. One priest told his parishioners that they would be committing a mortal sin if they voted for any of the three men opposed by the church. Once again the parishioners outside Pierz supported the church's position, and by means of their votes the candidates indorsed by the church were elected. In Pierz, however, two of the candidates who favored a public high school received twice as many votes as those opposed, and the third, though a Protestant, received 197 votes as against 136 for his opponent.

Although Monsignor Mahowald has won out thus far, the final victory may go to the Pierz parishioners. It is almost a certainty now that the superintendent, who has always favored a public high school, will be dismissed. But the State Board of Education is scheduled to meet on August 7, and Commissioner of Education Dean M. Schweickard has said that he will recommend that the board discontinue state aid to the Pierz parish grade school on the ground that the two "public-school" classes are indistinguishable from the regular parochial-school classes. Ninety-seven students attend classes in the two segregated public-school rooms. For seven months of the 1950-51 term the Pierz school board paid to the St. Joseph parochial school $200 a month for each of the two classrooms, $974 a month for the transportation of the ninety-seven students, and $115 a month for use of the cafeteria, library, and gymnasium. This money, totaling about $18,000 a year, will not be paid if the state board sustains the Commissioner.

Regardless of how the immediate question is decided when the board meets on August 7, the tumult in Pierz will not subside, and it is likely to be echoed in many other communities before long. The dispute is not between Protestants and Catholics or even between advocates of secular and ecclesiastical schemes of education; it has its origin in an issue of deeper significance, one that is inherent in the conflict between the American concept of democracy and certain phases of Roman Catholic teaching. Must the parishioner, under threat of excommunication, vote as the priest tells him to vote? That is the issue. The answer has practical meaning for Pierz, where it already seems clear that the financial burden of a dual school system is insupportable and will eventually be rejected by the Catholic laity.

Franco at the Front Door

BY ALEXANDER H. UHL

Washington, July 20

WITH the help of Senator Pat McCarran, the Franco government in Spain is being bailed out of the economic and political crisis in which it found itself a few months ago as a result of the strikes against the high cost of living in Catalonia and the Basque country.

Unfortunately for the United States' prospect of ever being repaid for the loans it is now making to Madrid, much of the money is in short-term, essentially stop-gap aid. Thanks to Senator McCarran, Spain is getting credits for such commodities as wheat, cotton, coal, and fertilizers; these are all desperately needed, but their purchase can have only a temporary effect on the Spanish economy. When they have been consumed, Spain may have weathered today's economic storm but will have done little to enrich its long-term productive capacity. Then it will need more help. And from all indications Senator McCarran intends to see that Franco gets it—to the tune of some $100,000,000 in the fiscal year 1952—out of the $8,500,000,000 foreign-aid appropriations now before Congress.

Here is the story of what has gone over the dam so far and what is still on the way. The McCarran rider to last year's appropriations bill "authorized and directed" the Administration to lend $62,500,000—McCarran had asked for $100,000,000—to the Spanish government.

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The vote was a slap in the face for the State Department, which had been insisting that Spain ought to make "substantial advances in such directions as increased civil liberties, religious freedom, and freedom to exercise the elementary rights of organized labor." Meanwhile, the department said, Spain could ask the Export-Import Bank for loans "covering specific and economically justifiable projects," which would be considered "in accordance with the Bank's regular policy, not only on the basis of the need for the credit and the suitability of the particular purposes to be served but also on whether there is a reasonable prospect of repayment."

OF COURSE loans to Spain were in no such sound category. Spanish approaches to the Export-Import Bank in 1949 had disclosed that from $700,000,000 to $1,250,000,000 would be needed to put Spain on its feet financially. Chances that the Franco government could repay such a sum were so slim that the Export-Import Bank would not take the risk. If Franco was to be helped, some other method must be found, and Senator McCarran provided it last August by attaching a rider to the appropriations bill virtually ordering the Administration to come to Franco's aid. President Truman, forced to sign the bill if the government was to be kept running, remarked sourly that he regarded the rider as an "authorization" rather than a "directive." But, whatever his interpretation, it was clear that the battle to keep Franco's hands out of the American Treasury was practically over.

The McCarran rider said that the credits should go through the regular channels of the Economic Cooperation Administration. The E. C. A., embarrassed at the idea of Spanish emissaries waiting in its reception rooms with those of countries which have no use for Franco, deftly got off the hook by appointing the Export-Import Bank as the "operating agency" to handle the loans. Franco's financial agents, with Ambassador Jose de Lequerica at their head, thereupon turned up at the Export-Import Bank with a long list of what Spain wanted—$62,500,000 worth. The list consisted largely of "consumable" commodities, and the Export-Import Bank took the position that it should include more capital goods. Last February, however, it agreed to grant $12,200,000 under four separate credits—$5,000,000 for cotton, $3,500,000 for fertilizers, $3,000,000 for tractors and spare parts, and $700,000 for machinery to complete a nitrogenous fertilizer plant in Spain. The bank had been persuaded that the Catalonian textile mills must be kept in operation so that Spain could earn some foreign exchange and that the fertilizer would help Spain grow more food and thus reduce its food bills abroad.

A little over a month later the bank granted a $5,000,000 credit for wheat to "ameliorate the temporary shortage of wheat prevailing in Spain prior to the harvests." This loan caused considerable comment in Washington, since it was clearly not a long-term productive credit. The State Department was doubtful that it met the conditions of the American aid program but apparently decided to wash its hands of the whole business on the ground that it could not afford to fight Congress on the issue. The Export-Import Bank reluctantly approved the loan when the Spanish pleaded that hungry men could not work.

New loan agreements calling for about $40,000,000 are now in the works. These are somewhat more in line with the bank's wishes, for they will be used for coal and other mining equipment, railroad repair, and development of hydroelectric and steam power. There will also be an additional credit for wheat; how large has not yet been announced.

Technically these loans run for about twenty years, but any idea that they will be repaid is a pleasant fiction. They are not part of the bank's portfolio of strictly commercial loans—those that meet the rigid standards the bank enforces when it handles funds appropriated for its specific use—but are carried in a special portfolio of E. C. A. loans to Marshall Plan countries. Such loans now amount to something over a billion dollars and in the end may simply wind up as gifts. The best that can be said for the loans to Spain is that while the country's present economic situation permits little expectation of repayment, hope persists that Spanish recovery may come tomorrow.

The loan negotiations are being largely carried on by the Spanish commercial attaché in Washington assisted by officials sent from Madrid. Thus far the United States has no plans for an economic mission to Spain, although the Export-Import Bank intends to send a few of its experts over to check on how the loan agreements are working out. Nobody will admit it, but there is a certain amount of justifiable concern lest the wheat to be purchased ends up in the notorious Spanish black market.

For a short time last month McCarran was worried that the full $62,500,000 might not be assigned before the fiscal year 1951 ended on June 30 and that the remaining funds might lapse. But several weeks ago the E. C. A. issued notes for the amount still remaining and placed them at the disposal of the Export-Import Bank. McCarran is now taking steps to assure that Spain is not omitted from the President's $8,500,000,000 foreign-aid program.

The Administration bill avoids mention of specific countries to be helped: it speaks of "regions," giving Europe the lion's share of $5,293,000,000 for military aid and $1,675,000,000 for economic aid. Although it is designed especially to help the countries belonging to the North Atlantic Pact, it leaves the way open to the

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President to help any other European country which he feels "to be of direct importance to the defense of the North Atlantic area and whose increased ability to defend itself the President determines contributes to the preservation of peace and security of the North Atlantic area and is important to the security of the United States."

It is clear that the Administration, despite its long reluctance to force the Spanish dictator on an unwilling Britain and France, considers Spain as coming within this category. A few weeks ago General Marshall told Congress that it would be advantageous to have Spain in the Atlantic defense set-up, but that it would be unwise to press the issue in view of the opposition of our allies. Since then the Administration has surrendered completely to the McCarran forces in Congress and is now in the midst of negotiations with Madrid for air and naval bases. Apparently Spain will not be integrated into the Atlantic Pact for the present but will be dealt with separately. There is much doubt at the Pentagon as to the wisdom of spending the fantastic sums that would be necessary to modernize the Spanish army. The development of Spanish air fields as bombing bases, however, has long been the desire of the armed services.

McCarran and the friends of Franco are now sitting pretty. McCarran will undoubtedly push for additional E. C. A. aid to Spain. The foreign-aid bill gives the President discretionary power to help such countries as Spain, but McCarran is expected to demand iron-clad directives that Spain, as he has put it, "gets its share" in 1952. In this he will receive powerful support from such Senators as Chavez, O'Mahoney, Brewster, Cain, and presumably Taft, all of whom supported his Spanish-loan rider last summer.

The Spanish lobby which did so much to get that rider through is keeping pretty well out of sight this year. Its activities are really not needed now, for Congressional opposition to more aid for Franco has all but collapsed. Senators who opposed the Spanish loan last year are not too keen about sticking their political necks out again. They were beaten sixty-five to fifteen last August, and some of them confess that the fight seems hopeless. They feel that the recent disorders in Spain, far from discouraging future aid to Franco, will only spur McCarran and his supporters to new efforts on the ground that the United States cannot afford to have the regime collapse.

The loans now being made to Spain are supposed to open the way to the acquisition of strategic materials by the United States, but nothing of this kind has as yet been accomplished. In fact, official Spanish speeches hint indirectly that help for Spain was delayed far too long and that the current loans are in the nature of "reparation" for a past wrong. While this is annoying to the State Department, it is little more than that. Apparently McCarran does not mind, and it is McCarran right now who counts.

For a time it looked as if Franco might be kept waiting at the back door of the Treasury, but he is certainly at the front door now. No one knows just what price he asked for the bases which have been made available to us, but there can be no doubt that it was steep. Unless the American people react strongly against having him brought gradually into full membership in the Western bloc, he is likely soon to be sitting in the parlor.

G. M.'s Economic Tyranny

BY T. K. QUINN

THE recent history of the General Motors Corporation shows an interesting curve of steadily increasing sales: in 1946 sales totaled $1,900,000,000; in 1947, $3,815,000,000; in 1948, $4,701,000,000; in 1949, $5,700,000,000; in 1950, $7,531,000,000. As an associate of small manufacturers, I wonder where and how General Motors was able to get the enormous quantities of steel necessary for this production in a period of alleged shortage, when the little fellows were not able to get it. How ridiculous, how dishonest it is to say that all the people of the country have equal opportunities! What is meant is that equal opportunities are open to those who have the power to force themselves into advantageous positions and obtain preferment.

The thousands of tons of steel gobbled up by General Motors might have kept alive many fine smaller companies which were forced to the wall. The situation was so bad that General Motors itself, shamefacedly conscious of its advantage, joined the government in demanding more production from the steel companies, though it continued to hog what steel there was.

Automobile manufacturers are not the only ones who have suffered. Before the war General Motors had very little stove, or range, business. Now, because of their inability to get steel during the shortage, a number of the small pre-war manufacturers are no longer with us. Electromaster of Detroit felt obliged to sell out to Philco; Globe-American of Indiana sold out to Maytag; Glenwood of Massachusetts discontinued; Crown Stove of Illinois has barely hung on; Robertson of Tennessee went broke; Monitor of New York had to go through financial reorganization. There were other victims. But Frigidaire—hardly a descriptive sales name for a cook stove—produced in sufficient quantities to become one of the leaders in volume of sales. General Motors' financial power was more than enough to get steel for unprece-

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dented automobile production—it could also get steel for stoves.

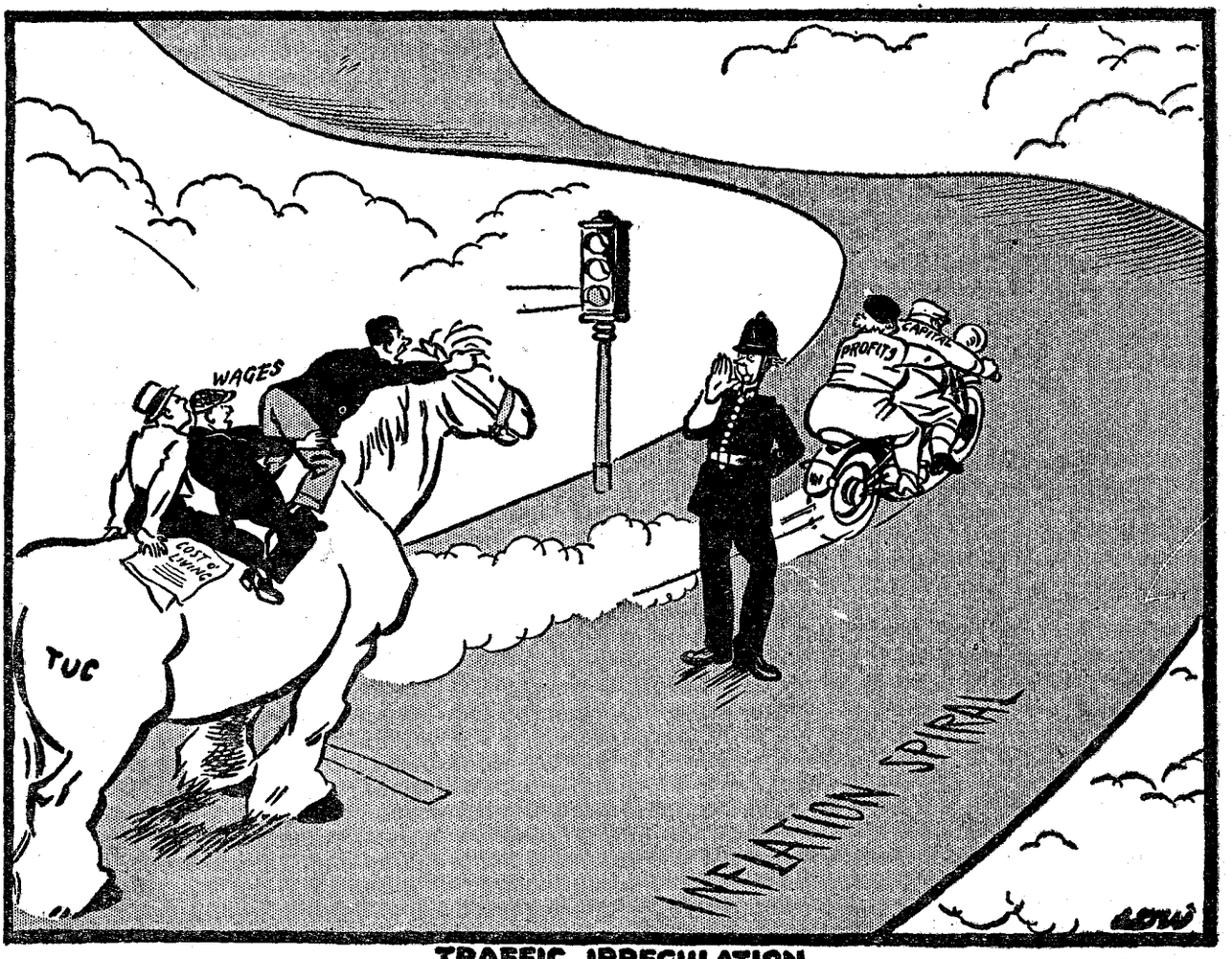
The claim is often made that big business must be as big as it is to be efficient. But just how General Motors becomes a more efficient producer of automobiles by also producing ranges, refrigerators, washing machines, electric appliances, and diesel engines has never been and cannot be explained unless efficiency and financial power have come to be synonymous—as morality and legality are coming to be.

And this is not the whole story, by any means. General Motors' last report contains no breakdown of its figures by department or division. For all we know it was able to attain its new position in the range business by subsidizing prices out of its automobile profits. It could easily afford to give away at cost all its refrigerators, ranges, and washing machines in order to eliminate most of its competitors. The few million dollars lost would not be noticed in its one billion seven hundred million dollars of profits, before taxes. General Motors could invade any fabrication field it chose and eliminate competitors in just this way; thousands of small manufacturers may be said to be living on the sufferance of General Motors.

Think, too, of the thousands of small manufacturers who supply parts to General Motors and are dependent upon its patronage for their existence. They had better do as the corporation says if they expect to continue to get the orders to keep their factories running.

There are many more thousands of automobile dealers whose costs, selling prices, investment requirements, and policies and practices are dictated by General Motors. They all have one-sided contracts which can be canceled on thirty-to-sixty-days' notice, with or without cause. Any slight independence they may boast is purely imaginary.

Historically, political freedom has never long outlived economic freedom. Giant corporations like General Motors can present glowing reports, figures, and curves, but they are signs of danger to the nation. The cost to the rest of society becomes intolerable when it is known. The General Motors report for 1950 is another milestone on the way to socialism; another nail, to change the metaphor, in the coffin of free enterprise. The stockholders have actually no more voice in the corporation than Russian peasants have in Soviet industry. Management and control rest entirely in the hands of a little group of self-perpetuating officers and directors.



TRAFFIC IRREGULATION

London *Daily Herald*

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BOOKS and the ARTS

"Historic Europe Is Dead"

THE POLITICAL COLLAPSE OF EUROPE. By Hajo Holborn. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

IN THIS compact little volume Professor Holborn has tried to summarize and interpret those aspects of modern European history that are relevant to an understanding of Europe's significance in the world today—to establish a "clear distinction between the forces and ideas of former ages that continue to be alive and those that have ceased to be issues in our time or, perhaps, forever." As narrative and exposition "the book is a determined attempt to condense . . . the international political history of modern Europe to the essentials." On a more elusive level it tries "to recover the knowledge about the day before yesterday that has slipped from living memory" and has not yet "been caught by the professional historian." And on the plane of large generalization it offers a continuous argument in support of the author's major thesis—that "'historic Europe' is dead and beyond resurrection."

With so ambitious a program Professor Holborn's book can scarcely fail to fall into some of the traps to which this type of literature is peculiarly exposed. Scholars will inevitably find many of its pages tame and over-familiar. The general reader will complain that personalities and events make their appearances and departures without adequate explanation. Both will quarrel with the author's selection of those episodes that receive a fairly full treatment and those that are dismissed in a sentence. To this reviewer Professor Holborn's account of the diplomatic history of the nineteenth century seems too detailed: surely such matters as the "Polish-Saxon problem" at the Congress of Vienna and Bismarck's fragile Three Emperors League fall in the category of things that have "ceased to be issues in our time." On the other hand, the analysis of overseas imperialism is too condensed. If, as Professor Holborn very correctly argues, Lenin and the Marxists offered an oversimplified explanation, a convincing refutation requires more than the meager ration of four or five paragraphs allotted to it.

These criticisms, however, largely apply to the first third of the book. Beginning with the turn of the present century, Professor Holborn's writing gathers momentum and his major thesis appears in clearer outline. And it is here that the author's "knowledge about the day before yesterday"—admirably bridging the gap between journalism and conventional scholarship—first comes into play to enliven and enrich his account. More particularly, he establishes a relationship between the problems of Europe and the new world-awareness of the United States that gives coherence to the whole latter part of his book.

"Until 1917, or at least till the last years of the nineteenth century," Professor Holborn argues, "two separate political systems existed, one in the New World, the other in the Old." The disintegration of the Chinese Empire first brought them together. The First World War finally fused them. But the imperative necessities of national interest that forced the United States into the war remained obscure. "Many Americans conceived of America's participation . . . as an exclusively idealistic venture, and after the fighting was over many concluded that American foreign policy under Wilson's leadership had attended to esoteric ends rather than to genuine American needs."

Hence the fateful withdrawal of the United States from European concerns in the 1920's. On this, as on the related problem of enforcing the Versailles settlement, Professor Holborn displays a sure sense of historical realities and a nearly unparalleled fairness of mind. In judging the peace treaty itself he rises above the well-worn arguments of the revisionist and anti-revisionist schools. Indeed, his chief criticism of the peace conference is its failure to discuss the "common problems concerned with Europe as a whole"—an omission that was later to bear a large responsibility for the piecemeal and haphazard fashion in which the revision of the treaty came about. The Allied powers, Professor Holborn argues, might well have behaved more generously toward the new German democracy. "But it was absolutely essential for Britain and France to keep control of any changes in Germany's position in Europe." Particularly shortsighted was Britain's failure to appreciate the importance of Eastern Europe and its implied toleration of German expansionism in that area. This was a course that by a series of illogical twists and false starts was to lead to the unprecedented diplomatic abdication of Munich. Here the "Western European powers voluntarily surrendered their influence over Eastern Europe"—never to regain it.

This conclusion comes as a welcome corrective to the currently fashionable contention that President Roosevelt and his advisers "sold out" Eastern Europe to the Russians. Such an accusation, Professor Holborn soberly reminds us, lacks historical foundation, since that area of the world was not ours to sell. "The decisions of the Moscow, Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam conferences," he concludes, "were on the whole . . . logical and inevitable. . . . If one wants to criticize them, one should direct criticism not so much against the actual results . . . , as against the expectations entertained at the time . . . with regard to the future of Western-Russian relations."

The foregoing selection can give only an inadequate sampling of the intellectual richness of Professor Holborn's concluding chapters. In these—by far the best part of his book—he offers a much-needed analysis and integration of the mass of new material on the Second World War that has been appearing over the past five years. On such disputed issues as the timing of a second front, the feasibility of a Balkan campaign, the essentials of German reconstruction, the origins of the present cold war, and the basic desiderata of European unity, he offers a series of balanced and eminently sensible conclusions. In the end he amply proves his point that Europe as a political entity

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has collapsed—indeed, that this collapse came as early as the First World War. Yet the conclusion he draws from it is the reverse of defeatist.

Far from advocating the abandonment of Europe to its fate, Professor Holborn argues that alliance with Europe is more than ever indispensable to American survival. "The European political system," he contends, "has been replaced by an Atlantic system." On any rational grounds the paragraph or two in which he summarizes the material and spiritual resources of present-day Europe should dispose forever of the claim that the United States can go its own way without allies. But in this summer of political bitterness and wilful ignorance the chances of rational political argument are even more remote than customary. In such an atmosphere Professor Holborn's wise and calm little book can perform an invaluable function of intellectual clarification.

H. STUART HUGHES

Latin American Colonial Art

BAROQUE AND ROCOCO IN LATIN AMERICA. By Pál Kelemen. The Macmillan Company. $16.50.

AFTER the conquest of the Americas the impact of European culture on that of the Indian inspired a blend in art which, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, found expressions of unparalleled originality. Until now few books have appeared on this subject, and these have presented only one or another country's colonial production. In his "Baroque and Rococo in Latin America," Pál Kelemen surveys the whole field, from the Rio Grande to the Rio de la Plata, offering a most inviting introduction to the subject.

His first chapter acquaints the reader with the colonial scene, bringing out the secular and religious elements that conditioned the life of the Spanish colonist in America. In the next he discusses the artistic conditions of contemporary Europe, then flowering into the baroque, and relates them to the peculiar situation prevailing in the New World. There follows the metamorphosis into the rococo, a style that in eighteenth-century Latin America reached an extravagant and ardent climax. The subsequent chapters present the highlights of colonial achievements in architecture, sculpture, and painting, selected with a discriminating eye—a panorama of the entire epoch. These three major branches of the visual arts are not separated in strict academic fashion but mingle in stimulating variety. Only a handful of our educational institutions devote any courses to this vast subject, and except for the architecture, libraries in the United States have collected few significant photographs in this field. Representative selection can be expected only from experts working on the spot and endowed with taste, knowledge, good humor, patience, and an understanding of Latin temperament. All of these qualities Mr. Kelemen seemingly possesses in rich measure.

He has grouped his plates for subtle contrasts or similarities, and it is refreshing to see side by side statues from Ecuador and Guatemala, paintings from Peru and Mexico, architecture from Colombia and Brazil. Brazil's rococo proves to be an architect's art, modeling space in a most theatrical fashion. Among the sculpture illustrated are finely carved statues inspired by European models and grippingly expressive Christs and saints that reflect the special flavor of Indian psychology. Naive charm and fresh design distinguish the anonymous paintings of Cusco, Peru. Possessing an intimate familiarity with European iconography, the author traces the influences which affected the New World. Artistic stimuli came not only from the Iberian Peninsula and Italy but also from Flemish and German sources. Dutch and British traders brought in their goods, and from the Far East via the Philippines were introduced the wonders of an exotic world. All this was molded by the ancestral talent and skill of native craftsmen, overwhelmingly Indian and mestizo.

The book points up regional differences in the work of the various colonies. Churches in Central America had to be built especially sturdy to resist the frequent tremors. An "earthquake baroque" resulted, chiefly in Guatemala, but also in out-of-the-way places of Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador. Ecuador is famous for its eighteenth-century Indian artists who were imitative of European styles. Here Mr. Kelemen's brilliant discovery of the hitherto unknown or misunderstood image of the winged Virgin as the Visión of the Fifth Seal is exciting reading. "Viceregal Peru," embracing the vast area from Quito to Buenos Aires, presents such spectacular survivals of colonial art as Lima, Arequipa, Cusco, Potosí, and Sucre. Almost in the center of this realm lies that fabulous region, as yet hardly explored, which stretches south of Cusco to Copacabana, along the shores of majestic Lake Titicaca. The concluding chapters bring out the splendor of colonial organs and the virtuosity of the woodcarvers and gilders in altars, choir stalls, and pulpits.

Mr. Kelemen's "Medieval American Art," published in 1943, is generally accepted not only as the most important book yet written to show the art of pre-Conquest America as a whole but also as a fresh departure in the writing of art books in general. Now he has done it again. As in the previous book, he apparently spent years in assembling the graphic material with utmost care. Most of the excellent photographs are credited to Elisabeth Kelemen, who accompanied her husband on his travels. The text was written only after each page of

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the illustrations had been arranged. Thus each paragraph of the text is related to the figures. The reader cannot help looking at them with the author's enthusiasm and understanding. The result is a book which is fascinating to art students, scholars, and the general public. Very high standards of printing are evident in both text and illustrations.

In his book Mr. Kelemen has provided a sensitive introduction to the human values in an art which has been nearly completely neglected. Here at last is struck a balance between research and broad interpretation. Here is effective communication with the world outside scholarship. Here is a worthy presentation of the fabulous wealth of our neighbors' colonial heritage in art.

MARTIN S. SORIA

"A. P. H." in Parliament

INDEPENDENT MEMBER. By A. P. Herbert. Doubleday and Company. $5.

IN 1935, after some preliminary brushes with politics in the pages of *Punch* and elsewhere, Sir Alan Herbert (he was knighted after World War II) sought election to Parliament from the University of Oxford. Since 25 or 30 per cent of the electors were clergymen and Sir Alan made no secret of his intention to seek an easing of the divorce laws, his success in this campaign was a great surprise. His reluctant colleague was Lord Hugh Cecil, a very High Churchman, and his predecessor the learned historian Sir Charles Oman, a holdover from the Victorian Age who was a great authority on the Dark Ages and who had written among other books a history of the Peninsular War in six volumes. Perhaps the graduates of Oxford University decided that the time had come to change the mixture.

If such was their aim, they certainly succeeded. Unlike most new members Mr. Herbert delivered his maiden speech on his second day in Parliament. "A brazen hussy of a speech," Winston Churchill called it with a chuckle, and, indeed, it did display very little of the trepidation of the inexperienced, whatever its author may have felt. For fourteen years thereafter Mr. Herbert added greatly to the enjoyment of the House and sometimes to their enlightenment by his interventions in debate and by the bills he introduced. One of these proposed to amend the laws of England concerning "the sale or supply of wine, beer, spirits, and the like" by adopting the laws of France on this subject, a suggestion that will commend itself to many as representing a high form of statesmanship. Another was drafted in verse, but unfortunately seems to have been presented in *Punch* rather than in Parliament.

However, Mr. Herbert was not in Parliament just for the fun of it. He fought seriously for amendments in the liquor laws and in the regulation of gambling, and actually succeeded in liberalizing the divorce laws. He fought especially hard against the treatment of Newfoundland and the bill to authorize its union with Canada, but this battle he lost.

From the point of view of legislation, indeed, Mr. Herbert accomplished very little. Even his divorce bill passed only because the government finally provided some of its own time for it. But usefulness in Parliament is more than adding to the statutes. To have enlivened debates and been the spokesman of causes that party machines would not take up was something. And Parliament is not over-supplied with outstanding personalities. Even those who did not agree with Sir Alan's politics, which were anti-Labor when they were not merely personal, probably felt some regret that the abolition of university representation deprived him of his seat.

"Independent Member" is, among other things, the record of these years at Westminster. It contains witty, fascinating, and informative descriptions of the atmosphere of Parliament, its rites and ceremonies, the terror and exhilaration of parliamentary speaking, the opportunities and frustrations that come to private members.

Even more interesting than the chapters on Parliament are the author's memoirs of the war. For five years he and his little Water Gipsy were members of the River Emergency Service patrolling some sixty miles of the Thames through blitz, doodle-bug attacks, and V-2 raids. From 1940 to 1944 they were actually a part of the navy, the ship starting out grandly as H. M. S. Water Gipsy, coming down to "H. M. patrol vessel," and ending somewhat ingloriously as a "naval auxiliary boat," while its commander sank from second hand to petty officer (small craft only). But through all vicissitudes of rank the little craft—weighing six-and-one-half tons without load and driven by two nine-horsepower engines—clattered (the word is the author's) up and down the Thames on the miscellaneous missions of a patrol boat. The river was both a part of the show of war and a grandstand seat from which to view it. Indeed, it was better than a seat, it was a whole grandstand in which one could move about, catching the spectacle from different angles. The author's descriptions of London during the war are a contribution to history both because of this unique perspective and because of their vividness. We can almost smell the smoke of burning docks and buildings and hear the crackle of the flames.

While Petty Officer Herbert was defending his country and A. P. Herbert, M. P., helping to make its laws, "A. P. H.," father of both of them, continued to add to its quiet gaiety by his writings in *Punch* and the *Sunday Graphic*. Some of these are included here, augmenting the charm of a book that belongs in the line of "Holy Deadlock" and "Uncommon Law."

THOMAS P. PEARDON

Verse Chronicle

WHEN "North of Boston" was published, nobody, apparently, had any idea of the author as anything but a mature person—if not exactly mellow or venerable, at least full-grown. Today so much has life-expectancy increased, or emotional development slowed down, there is a tendency to present the work of a man of forty as that of a kid, with emphasis, both in the content and the publicity, on his youth and growing pains. "Of our living poets of greatest distinction," observed the late Mr. Matthiessen, "all but a handful are now over fifty, and many are well beyond that."

These reflections are prompted not only by what looks like a general trend but more particularly and recently by the publication of Paul Engle's "The Word of Love" (Random House, $2.50). It is altogether to the credit of

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Mr. Engle's growth that he has turned his back on the easy praise for the cheap sentiment of his "American Song" to face the more difficult task of expressing personal emotion. The lyrics in this collection have the impact of a direct, almost desperate, and at times embarrassing urgency and immediacy of feeling; where they fail is in the writer's lack of command of his medium, his innocence of the art of verse. Touching and naive as this may be it is a matter whose correction is demanded, however boring and exhausting the process, by the courage and virtue of growth. I am not urging that nakedness of emotion be veiled in the decencies of phrase. On the contrary: but that Mr. Engle's dance, however naked, may not stumble and halt, may not embarrass by its unintended awkwardness and blundering. He has so much to learn about prosody.

He could find out much to his advantage from a study of the "Selected Poems" of Robert Farren (Sheed and Ward, $2.50). Mr. Farren is a most uneven writer; just when you begin to think he is no good except when translating from the Gaelic he comes up with something, apparently original, with all the dash and surprise in the world. The most interesting thing about this collection is the way in which it illustrates a weakness in our own and British poetry now—the tendency to depend for effect on epithet and image. We know the difference between a long poem and a short one all right, I guess, but we do not distinguish so well between loud and soft, between swift and slow; and in such matters as the rush, the pause, the retard, the lift, the linger, the echo, the weight, the space, or even the use of a good sound spondee, we are babes in the wood in comparison with the Irish. Of course, we haven't the tradition, never having had a crop of bards so voracious they nearly ate kings out of keep and castle. Using these hallowed resources Mr. Farren can show you how to make quite good poetry when the language, as such, is more conventional than distinguished.

In addition to a title-poem of some 600 lines, "The Mills of the Kavanaughs," by Robert Lowell (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50), contains five other longish pieces, and a brief six-stanza imitation of Werfel. My surprise, or disappointment, in this collection would be greater if my expectation of Mr. Lowell were as high as it presumably ought to be. I am sorry, I find him dull and I cannot make out what he is getting at; I am willing to take the blame for lacking whatever key is necessary to unlock the barriers of understanding and communication.

"A Change of World," by Adrienne Cecile Rich (Yale University Press, $2.50), is the forty-eighth volume in the Yale Series of Younger Poets, which "is designed to provide a publishing medium for the first volumes of America's coming poets" and "is open to men and women under forty who have not previously had a book of verse published." (Why forty, why not thirty? Was this always the figure?) The roster of poets previously printed in the series is a little saddening: how few of the coming poets seem ever to have arrived, to have persisted, how many to have faded out, or become diverted! I think it is a pity also, for the sake of the record, to omit from the list those volumes which have gone out of print; some, perhaps, might be worth reissue.

Well, anyway, here we have the work of a real young poet, Miss Rich being twenty-one and a senior at Radcliffe. Very nice work, too; Mr. Auden, as editor, rather understates the case for her merit, sending her off with almost too avuncular a pat on the head. His foreword (he is now editor of the series) also contains, in very brief compass, some very sensible remarks indeed. To get back to Miss Rich, "Five O'Clock Beacon Hill" seems to me an excellent fusion of the sensuous with the ironic; as in other poems, including those where she is taking after Frost, Miss Rich has a talent for combining imagination and reserve. And of course no male could resist, however commonplace, the homily in

AN UNSAID WORD

She who has power to call her man
From that estranged intensity
Where his mind forages alone,
Yet keeps her peace and leaves him free,
And when his thoughts to her return
Stands where he left her, still his own,
Knows this the hardest thing to learn.

The best news is that now, and about time, we have complete "The Collected Poems of William Butler Yeats" (Macmillan, $5). Let an Irishman make the comment; here, in the words of Robert Farren, we are bidden

Open the bolted gates,
let in old lilt and murmur
and death-recovered shout
with newer cry and chorus
on the march of the speaking mouth:
melody of mouths talking,
strictly, as worlds spin,
lit, lofty, reeling
out of the sun and in.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Films

MANNY FARBER

A STATE of uncertainty, generally accompanied by a feeling of anxiety or fear; indetermination; indecision." This, according to Webster, is the meaning of suspense—probably the best single theme for movies in an anxious era like this, when we are all sweating out something—from A-bombs, bullets, or furloughs to pregnancies, ironclad marriages, or high prices. But this theme has been misconstrued and bastardized by both Hollywood and its critics. One director in particular has made his living by subjecting the movie audience to a series of cheap, glossy, mechanically perfect shocks, and for this he has been hailed as the High Boojum of Suspense. The name of this artist is, of course, Alfred Hitchcock—who has gone farther on fewer brains than any director since Griffith, while cleverly masking his deficiency, and his underlying petty and pointless sadism, with a honey-smooth patina of "sophistication," irony, and general glitter.

Having vented this long-pent-up gripe, I hasten to add that Hitchcock's latest film, "Strangers on a Train," is fun to watch if you check your intelligence at the box office. It is too bad that this director, who has the observing eyes of a Dos Passos and the facility of a Maupassant, does himself the disservice of intercutting rather good naturalistic scenes with so much old hoke. His forte is the half-minute visual uncertainty—a murderer's hand straining through a sewer grating for a symbolically decorated cigarette lighter. Hitch not only shows the fingers straining forward with slow, animal cunning but throws a

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white, metallic light over them, thus turning a dirty black hole into Grauman's Chinese on opening night. The whole thing is done in a boxed close-up, so that one can't help feeling the camera man could have cut the nonsense short by handing the Ronson up to the villain. The late-twenties Hitchcock, devoted to the fairly credible style of John Buchan and Belloc Lowndes, would have rejected all such intrusive, romantic, metronome-timed schmalz and no doubt fired the script writer for lifting the gesture and locale from a film—"The Third Man"—made by his former shadow, Carol Reed. However, like so many transplanted foreign aces who consider American audiences more childish, gullible, and slow-witted than those in the Marshall Plan countries, Hitchcock has gone so soft that he makes even the average uninspired native director look comparatively noncommercial. His only really punchy Hollywood job was "Lifeboat." "Strangers on a Train" ranks somewhere between that effort and mushy gab-fests like "Sabotage," "Under Capricorn," "Spellbound," and—though it had its merits—"Rope."

Because chases and homicides and Pearl White escapes clutter his pictures, no one notices the general emasculation Hitchcock has perpetrated on the thriller. Brittle, soft-cheeked, petulant pretty boys (Dick, Dall, Todd, Donat, Cummings, Granger) are projected into high melodrama. These characters seem to disappear like clothes dummies within their tweedy, carefully unpressed Brooks Brothers jackets and slacks, thanks to a director who impregnates costume and décor with so much crackling luster, so much tension and latent evil, that the spectator expects a stair corner or tie clasp to start murdering everyone in sight. Hitchcock did a lot of harm to movies by setting off a trend toward investing backrounds, architecture, and things like cigar bands with deep meaning. Finally, he takes all the bite out of his stories by whipping quickly but delicately down various "artistic" détours. In "Strangers on a Train" he cuts away from a brutally believable strangulation to the concave image cast up by the lens of the victim's fallen spectacles. At once the onlooker loses interest in the murder as such because he is so entranced with the lush, shadowy choreographic lyricism with which Hitchcock shows the life being squeezed, fraction by fraction, out of a shallow, hateful nymphomaniac.

The movie, by the way, is built around the travestied homosexuality of the murderer. Robert Walker provides the role with a meatier, more introverted, unhealthier savor than the stars usually give a Hollywood production. This is partly the result of Hitchcock's mechanical and spurious use of the new close-up style of camera work, which is evidently aimed at fetishists who like to study pores. Here he has given Walker an oily, puffy face and made him skitter his tiny eyes back and forth horizontally until it appears that the actor looks at everybody as if he were reading a book. But somewhere in the past two years Walker has picked up an aggressive jump style of acting; so that he seems to bull his way through the action—even when quietly waiting around a carnival for the sun to go down—like a thoughtless, savage two-hundred-pounder about to plunge for a touchdown. The heavy blanket of twisted melancholia which Walker spreads over this film is beautifully counterpointed by the work of Laura Elliott in the role of the victim. She seems to swish up into the picture like a sexy bespectacled baby whale. All the best things in "Strangers" have to do with the playing of these two.

Drama Note

BERT LAHR, whose humor is as broad as his portly figure, and Dolores Gray could make a hit out of anything, and have, although with one or two exceptions the skits are pretty lame in "Two on the Aisle," which opened at the Mark Hellinger last week. Some of the ideas are all right, but they don't come off, and the audience is left with the feeling that it got a Tom Collins without the gin. One scene rises on twenty bare diaphragms; there are other scenes in which the girls stay clad a little longer, but the show relies too heavily on this sort of business. The lyrics are awkward and help to account for the poor quality of the tunes. What makes the show a success is Mr. Lahr's grimaces, gestures, and noises, Donald Reid's imitations, and Miss Gray's ability to put a song over despite the awful lyrics. There is a skilful delay in Mr. Lahr's timing which must have something to do with his reputation of being the best clown in town.

The dancing is good, although some of the routines are like a G.O.P. national convention with everyone going his own way. Occasionally the dancers are allowed to get into a jam which can only be straightened out by stopping the show and taking a new tack. When Colette Marchand and J. C. McCord get the floor, the dancing is excellent.

The brasses and the drum get a lot of attention, and for this reason the music often sounds as though it were being played by a Salvation Army band.

"Two on the Aisle" is entertainment for visiting firemen, which means the show could go on forever if it were not for the fact that Mr. Lahr and Miss Gray, and very likely Mr. Reid, will get tired and leave, and the rest of the cast will get tired but stay. The enthusiasm of the cast has made "Two on the Aisle" something of a hit. But once the smiles get a little grim and the timing careless the same fate will overtake it that forced "Kiss Me, Kate"—or Slow Death at the Shubert—to close this week.

The costumes, according to the Playbill, were by Joan Personette, but as perhaps you have gathered by now, they were not much in evidence.

CHADWICK HALL

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

RCA Victor's LP record Highlights from "Cosl Fan Tutte" does give several marvelous excerpts—including the first-act quintet, the aria *Come scoglio,* the duet *Fra gli amplessi*—and gives them complete. Nevertheless, torn out of the context in which, as Professor Dent says in the observations quoted on the envelope, they are arranged with such skill, they are like the "bleeding chunks" torn out of Wagner's operas. And instead of Dent's observations the envelope should provide the words, so the listener may know what the music is about. The performances by singers of the Glyndebourne Festival—Sena Jurinac, soprano, Blanche Thebom, mezzo-soprano, Richard Lewis, tenor, Erich Kunz and Mario Borriello, baritones—and its orchestra conducted by Fritz Busch are superb; the recorded sound of the orchestra is excessively sharp.

Mozart's little opera "Bastien et Bastienne," composed when he was twelve, is very charming. The performance by German singers and the Ton-Studio Orchestra of Stuttgart conducted by Rolf Reinhardt is good; the orchestral sound is not clear and agreeable (Period).

His "La Finta Giardiniera," composed six years later, is a succession of many short pieces without much development which might be enjoyable in their dramatic context in the opera house but get to be wearisome by themselves. The singing by the German soloists with the Ton-Studio Orchestra under Reinhardt is good (Period).

"The Impresario," a little entertainment composed for Josef II in 1786, is in Mozart's matured style. The Mercury record gives us its delightful overture played fairly well by the Silvertone Orchestra under Leinsdorf, then its two arias and trio, framed in spoken dialogue, excellently sung (in English) by Edith Gordon and Lois Hunt, sopranos, and Luigi Velucci, tenor, with a chamber orchestra under Hermann Herz.

Victoria de los Angeles's singing of *Porgi amor* from "Figaro" on a Victor 78 begins beautifully but ends with too much monkey business in voice production and phrasing. And her singing of Wagner arias on another 78 is something to skip.

Italo Tajo's singing of Figaro's fourth-act aria on a Victor 45 is good; the orchestra under Cellini is muffled.

Marian Anderson is not absolutely on pitch in Handel's "Come to Me, Soothing Sleep" on another 45; but otherwise her singing in this piece and in Handel's "O What Pleasure" and "The Trumpet Is Calling" is good.

Mordecai Bauman's performances of arias by Handel and Alessandro Scarlatti are something to skip (Allegro).

Dvorak's Symphony No. 2, a good work though one not as rich in inspired invention as No. 5, is well performed by the Berlin Philharmonic under Ernst Schrader. Treble must be stepped up for clarity of sound (Urania).

Engaging small-scale pieces similar to the Slavonic Dances are Nos. 1, 3, and 4 of the six of the ten Dvorak Legends Opus 59 that are well performed by the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin under Fritz Lehmann; the symphonic poem "The Wood Dove" Opus 110, on the same record, I find uninteresting. When treble is stepped up sufficiently for clarity the sound is strident in loud passages (Urania).

A good performance of Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel" by the Berlin Philharmonic under Fricsay is on a record with a performance of "Don Juan" by the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under von Karajan that is occasionally slow and over-emphatic (the solo oboe plays with excessive vibrato). Treble must be stepped up (Decca).

The Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra performance of Tchaikovsky's Fifth is something to skip (Columbia).

RCA Victor has issued LP dubbings of some older 78 rpm recordings—allegedly on the ground of historic and artistic importance, which some of them definitely do not have (e.g., the atrocious Caniglia-Gigli "Aida," as against the old Giannini-Pertile version, which would have historic and artistic importance); actually on the ground of sales figures. Among the recordings which satisfy Victor's rigorously high standards in the latter respect and do have historic and artistic importance are those of Toscanini; and I have heard the LP versions of his 1936 recording of Beethoven's Seventh with the New York Philharmonic and his 1938 recording of Haydn's No. 88 with the N. B. C. Symphony. With treble, bass, and volume stepped up, the first, second, and fourth movements of the Beethoven are good approximations of the originals, though lacking their spacious fullness; but the third movement is very poor. The Haydn too is a good approximation of the original—in, among other things, its unresonant dryness—which hasn't all its fullness of volume and brilliance. And what performances!

I have also heard the LP version of the 1942 Schnabel-Chicago Symphony recording of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5. With bass and treble stepped up the piano sound in the first and last movements is distant, shallow, and brash; in the slow movement it is nearer and rounder and altogether better. But Schnabel's playing makes this the one to acquire of available LP versions.

Excellent is the LP version of the superb post-war recording of the Monteux-San Francisco Symphony performance of Berlioz's Symphonie Fantastique.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The C. O. in Double Jeopardy

Dear Sirs: In the Nürnberg trials some of the accused pleaded not guilty on the ground that they were personally innocent of the atrocities charged against them because they were only obeying the orders of their superiors. The American judges ruled that such a plea did not exonerate the defendants, who should have acted in accordance with the dictates of their conscience.

In this country when a man who follows his conscience refuses to become part of a machine organized for the express purpose of murdering his fellow-men, American judges operate on a different principle and sentence him to prison.

And one term in jail for refusing to join an organization set on destroying mankind is not enough. After a conscientious objector has served the sentence imposed for non-registration under the Selective Service laws, he is often brought to trial again and sentenced a second time. Recently, a young Quaker who had served a sentence for non-registration was tried again for failing to report for physical examination (part of the formalities of registering) and sentenced to five years on each of three counts for a total of fifteen years—the same sentence given one of the atomic spies! The subsequent outcry over such an unjust sentence finally led the judge to allow the three five-year sentences to run concurrently. There are many other conscientious objectors now in the same situation.

Braintree, Mass. HELEN S. EATON

Anti-Union Conspiracy

Dear Sirs: I read with interest Aleine Austin's informative summary of the majority report of the Senate Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations [*The Nation*, July 7]. The article, however, creates the mistaken impression that the bane of the union organizing drive in the Southern textile industry is the Taft-Hartley act. I would not deny that this law has weakened the organizing drive in a number of ways, but it is not the fundamental cause of the unions' failure.

What the unions faced in the organizing drive was a closely knit conspiracy of the mills, the local legislatures, the courts, and the constabulary. For example, many of the strikes were broken by court injunctions which forbade or at least severely limited picketing. In most Northern states little Norris-LaGuardia acts preserve the right to picket peacefully in labor disputes. These acts were first passed in the 1930's, but no Southern state has ever enacted them. Thus, long before Taft-Hartley the Southern judiciary was encouraged to vent its hostility against unions and picketing.

At the same time the local police have been derelict in their duty. Little attempt has been made to check violence by management-inspired hoodlums. The police have been efficient only against the strikers.

In this atmosphere the original Wagner act, with its slow and protracted procedures, would have been of little avail to the unions. Any redress obtained under it would have come too late. JACK M. PERLMAN

New York

CONTRIBUTORS

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant professor at Harvard University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times."

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ROLFE HUMPHRIES, *The Nation's* poetry critic, has just published a verse translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

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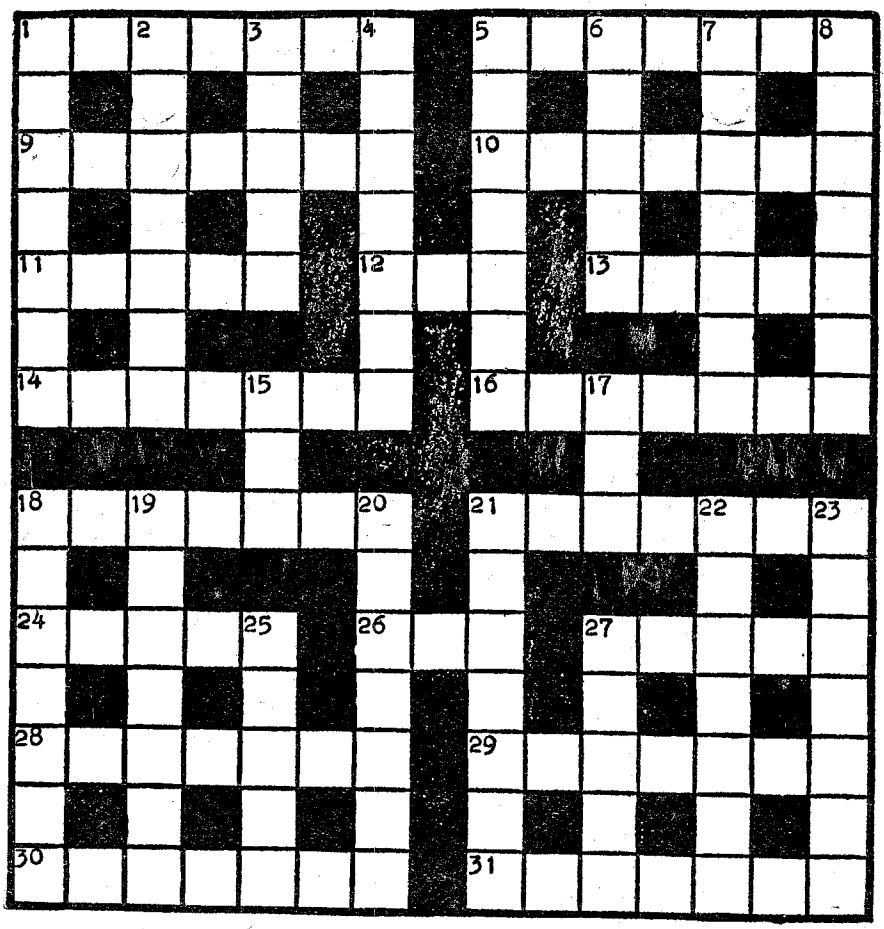
Crossword Puzzle No. 423

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 24, and 5 across. Subcutaneous sort of 23 down? (7, 5, 3, 4)
5 See 1 across.
9 Things that come back are best broken. (7)
10 Nouveau riche, but you gripe when your car won't. (7)
11 A proper ingredient of scorbutic acid. (5)
12, 26, 17, 15, 17, 26, 12. If you change them thus, gone stalls become symptomatic. (3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3)
13 Another appellation for Mr. Parker? (5)
14 Look at the leaf, if you want to see how things leak out. (7)
16 Detains what is marked. (7)
18 Rent like 24. (7)
21 Without the soft part, this would cut things up rather than put them together. (7)
24 See 1 across.
26 See 12 across
27 See 25 down.
28 Late Red, now under foot. (7)
29 See 3 down.
30 Habitual duties? (7)
31 Rests on British benches. (7)

DOWN

1 Danced to the unstable stars around us. (7)
2 Calm down! It's not a regu[illegible]am! (7)
3 and 29 across. Ties often [illegible] them. (5, 7)
4 One of the things responsible for a beating heart. (7)
5 They take the place of locks. (7)
6 Just the place to eat in Germany. (5)
7 Mink has been altered ---- quite a blow to the Egyptians! (7)
8 Somewhat irritated --- perhaps by getting stung in a beach venture. (7)
15 and 17. See 12 across.
18 Under-water contraction -------- (7)
19 ---------- while this is sort of under (yet on top of) the boat. (7)
20 The song implies they might be ringers up in Maine. (7)
21 Works hard at making music. (7)
22 French sleeve, if English. (7)
23 See 1 across. (7)
25 and 27 across. Sent with set weight? (10)
27 One form of small Spanish horse is related to the civet. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 422

ACROSS:—1 CHAMPS ELYSEES; 10 ATOLL; 11 OVERWHELM; 12 HEARTLESS; 13 RIATA; 14 BEWARE THE DOG; 19 MARSHALL PLAN; 22 LOPES; 24 CARIBBEAN; 25 FRYING-PAN; 26 ABETS; 27 THE PATH OF DUTY.

DOWN:—2 HOOKAH; 3 MILK TEETH; 4 STONEWALL; 5 LEERS; 6 SOWER; 7 EMERALDS; 8 LATHE; 9 EMBARGO; 15 ESPERANTO; 16 HEADBOARD; 17 AMPLIFY; 18 TRIPTYCH; 20 REPENT; 21 GNASH; 23 SUN-UP; 24 CAPET.

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